

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT

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THE UNIVERSITY  
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COLLECTION

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Monday, 11 March 1968, at 4 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV

(Bulgaria)

GE.68-4196  
68-07809

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. J.A. de ARAUJO CASTRO  
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA  
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES  
Mr. O. MUNIZ OLIVA

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV  
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

Burma:

U MAUNG MAUNG  
U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS  
Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL  
Mr. J.R. MORDEN  
Mr. A. BERNIER

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. P. WINKLER  
Mr. T. LAHODA  
Mr. V. VAJNAR

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE  
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. M.A. HUSAIN  
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. R. CARACCILO  
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI  
Mr. E. FRANCO  
Mr. R. BERLENGHI

Mexico:

Mr. A. GOMEZ ROBLEDO  
Mr. A. CARRANCO AVILA

Nigeria:

Alhaji SULE KOLO  
Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN  
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI  
Mr. S. DABROWA

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO  
Mr. C. GEORGESCO  
Mr. A. COROIANU  
Mr. C. MITRAN

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL  
Mr. A. EDELSTAM  
Mr. M. STAHL  
Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN  
Mr. O.A. GRINEVSKY  
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV  
Mr. V.B. TOULINOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF  
Mr. O. SIRRY  
Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Mr. I.F. PORTER  
Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. W.C. FOSTER  
Mr. S. DePALMA  
Mr. L.D. WELLER  
Mr. C.G. BREAM

Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

1. The CHAIRMAN (Bulgaria) (translation from French): I declare open the 376th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. ECOBESCO (Romania) (translation from French): The time that has elapsed since our Conference has had before it a revised draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/192/Rev.1, 193/Rev.1) has already given the delegations here an opportunity to express their views on this draft. The Romanian delegation has analyzed the revised draft treaty with all the attention it merits, and associates itself with the expressed opinion that the draft represents a step forward on the way to the achievement of a draft conforming to the principles set forth in the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, which have been referred to many times in our discussions.
3. We appreciate the efforts made by the co-Chairmen and by all the delegations taking part in the negotiations, and also the progress made in improving the draft treaty by considering some of the many just and precisely-framed proposals put forward by the non-nuclear countries. It is undeniable that the improvement of the draft treaty by meeting some of the legitimate demands of the non-nuclear countries is a positive process which should be continued; there is every reason for this.
4. It is our profound conviction that all the possibilities are far from exhausted and there are still essential areas in which, through genuine negotiations conducted with due regard to the equality of the parties, with patience and with a spirit of continuity, further progress can be made in improving the draft treaty on non-proliferation. The Romanian delegation considers that the results so far achieved can and must be regarded as a stimulus towards further improvement of the present text of the draft treaty by taking into account those constructive proposals which have not yet been reflected in the new text, and by seeking and finding acceptable solutions to the questions which have not yet been resolved, in order to eliminate the gaps which still remain in the revised text of the draft.

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

5. The favourable assessments of the revised draft, the critical comments on it, and the suggestions and specific proposals put forward during our negotiations, together express sympathetically the constant concern of the delegations gathered around the Conference table to make a positive contribution to the solution of the important problem with which we are dealing. They share in common the desire of their sponsors to create, through the collective efforts of the participants in the negotiations, an international legal instrument which shall have every chance of being effective. Naturally, that desire calls for improvement of the draft along the lines of the paramount needs, the satisfaction of which justifies the conclusion itself of the treaty on non-proliferation: the increase in the degree of security of States, the advance towards nuclear disarmament and general human progress.

6. My delegation, guided by the desire to contribute effectively to the negotiation of the draft treaty, has had the opportunity to explain at length Romania's position in regard to the principal components which the non-proliferation treaty should comprise. In order to learn the exact meaning of the provisions of the revised draft treaty, and to elucidate its many and varied aspects -- an essential condition of genuine and equal participation in the negotiations on the draft -- the Romanian delegation has put to the authors of the revised text a few questions and asked them for certain clarifications (ENDC/PV.362). We have listened with interest to the replies given by the representatives of the Soviet Union (ENDC/PV.366, paras. 11 et seq) and the United States (ENDC/PV.368) to these requests for clarification; they have given us a fuller idea of the draft treaty which has been submitted to us for examination and negotiation. We have likewise taken note of the interpretations given to some of the essential stipulations of the draft as well as other elements of detail that have been put before us.

7. It is generally recognized that an accurate knowledge of positions is an indispensable prerequisite for any genuine negotiation. It is from this point of view that the Romanian delegation appreciates the replies given by the co-Chairmen of our Committee as a contribution to a better understanding of the text of the draft treaty. They meet a need resulting from the very progress of the negotiations on the draft treaty.

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

8. It is in the same spirit of sincere collaboration, on which all my delegation's activity has been based during the debates that have taken place in this Committee, and in the firm decision to continue to make its contribution to the drafting of a treaty based on solutions that shall be both equitable and effective, that the Romanian delegation, on the instructions of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has the honour of submitting officially to the Committee a working paper containing amendments modifying and adding to the revised text of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/223/Rev.1). Our task is lighter because the paper has been circulated in advance and delegations have already been able to acquaint themselves with the contents of the amendments which it sets forth.

9. As our colleagues have no doubt already noted, the Romanian delegation's proposals deal with the question of control within the context of the non-proliferation treaty; with the relationship between this treaty and other measures aimed at achieving nuclear disarmament; with the security assurances which have to be given to the non-nuclear countries parties to the treaty; with the convening of periodic conferences; and with certain aspects of the conditions of withdrawal from the treaty.

10. In dealing with the question of control, we should like to make it clear that in our opinion the control measures must be confined to the basic objectives of the treaty, which are made quite evident by the obligations contained in articles I and II of the draft treaty. The essential purpose of these obligations is to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Precisely for that reason, it is quite natural that the provisions dealing with control should be strictly subordinated to the purpose laid down.

11. In its present form, article III provides for an extension of the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency to fields which, by their nature, involve no danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In order to ensure complete agreement between the scope of the safeguards and the purpose laid down by the treaty, the area of control must be defined in such a way as to cover only those activities of States which might enable nuclear energy to be diverted from its peaceful uses to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Otherwise, control may put a brake on the activities of States devoted to the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

12. Those are the considerations underlying our proposal to include in article III, before the present paragraph 1, a new paragraph worded as follows:

"The control established by this Article shall have the exclusive purpose of preventing the use of special fissionable materials for the production of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices by non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty. Control shall be applied to such peaceful nuclear activities of non-nuclear-weapon States Party to the Treaty as, by their nature and the quantities of source and special fissionable materials which they produce, process or use, may lead to the proliferation of nuclear weapons".

Consequently it will be necessary to make a series of changes in the first three paragraphs of the present text of article III, and the paragraphs will have to be re-numbered. Since all representatives have these proposals before them, we do not intend to repeat them.

13. Nevertheless, we should like to draw the attention of members of the Committee to the new paragraph 6 which we propose for inclusion in article III. It is worded as follows:

"6. The States Party to the Treaty agree to establish through the Security Council an appropriate control to ensure that non-nuclear weapon States Party to the Treaty on whose territory there are foreign military bases shall not acquire in any form whatsoever access to nuclear weapons indirectly through such bases".

We have drafted that paragraph on the footing that article III contains a number of measures designed to control the technical means by which countries not possessing nuclear weapons may acquire them, through their own means or through outside assistance. But the draft treaty on non-proliferation does not offer any solution of control designed to prevent the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons indirectly through military bases equipped with nuclear weapons situated on the territories of certain non-nuclear States.

14. Nevertheless, in accordance with the obligations devolving on the Parties to the treaty under Articles I and II, it is necessary to set up a reliable barrier to preclude any form of proliferation of nuclear weapons. That is the

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

requirement that prompts the Romanian delegation's proposal regarding paragraph 6, the effect of which would be to close a loophole whose consequences must not be under-estimated.

15. Turning now to other amendments, I should like to recall that they were fully presented during the interventions of the Romanian delegation at the 340th, 342nd, 344th and 348th meetings. That is the exact reason why today we are merely reaffirming the reasons underlying our proposals, the foundations upon which they rest, and the considerations showing why we are repeating them. As we have pointed out on other occasions, the Romanian proposals -

"... spring from the unshakeable desire and resolve of the Romanian Government and people to fight actively for the strengthening of peace and international security and to contribute to the solution of the international problems at present confronting mankind, including those of disarmament", (ENDC/PV.340, para. 30).

16. Disarmament, this complex problem with implications decisively affecting the whole of international relations, can offer radical solutions to the triangle of contemporary requirements - peace, security and progress. Its unanimously-recognized urgency increases in direct proportion to the dangerous escalation of the arms race, and in the first place the nuclear arms race. It arouses interest in all countries, since the fulfilment of the peoples' deepest aspirations is linked to its solution. In order to meet these particularly important requirements the non-proliferation treaty must, in the opinion of the Romanian delegation repeatedly expressed in this Committee, form part of a chain of measures aimed ultimately at eliminating the nuclear danger for ever.

17. The objective of the Romanian delegation's amendment concerning disarmament is to give a perspective to the non-proliferation treaty, to offer the certainty that it does not constitute --and will not be interpreted by anyone as constituting -- an end in itself, but will be accompanied by effective nuclear-disarmament measures. That is the meaning of our proposal concerning the undertaking of the nuclear-weapon Powers to adopt -

"... specific measures to bring about as soon as possible the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the reduction and destruction of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery".



(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

18. To ensure that this undertaking is respected and to enable the process of eliminating the nuclear danger to be followed, the Romanian proposal also provides that -

"If, five years after the entry into force of this Treaty, such measures shall not have been taken, the Parties shall examine the situation thus created and decide on the measures to be taken".

In view of the imperative need to adopt effective measures of nuclear disarmament, we consider, as do other delegations, that article VI of the revised text of the draft treaty, in its present form, although it improves on the original wording (ENDC/192, 193), does not yet contain appropriate provisions in regard to the undertaking of the nuclear Powers to adopt specific measures in the field of nuclear disarmament as soon as possible.

19. The Romanian delegation's third amendment is intended to fill an important gap which also remains in the revised text of the draft: namely the absence of any provision in the treaty concerning security assurances for all non-nuclear-weapon countries parties to the treaty. It is our firm conviction that the non-proliferation of atomic weapons must be accomplished in conditions in which all nations that renounce these weapons will be assured that they will never be victims of atomic aggression or of the threat of the use of nuclear weapons. It is the lawful right of every State that renounces nuclear weapons to be certain that its national independence and sovereignty will not be jeopardized. This is the concern which is answered by the proposal contained in paragraph 1 of article VI-A of the document presented by the Romanian delegation, according to which -

"Nuclear-weapon States solemnly undertake never in any circumstances to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon States which undertake not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons".

20. The second paragraph of the same article establishes a direct relationship between the undertaking concerning the non-utilization of nuclear weapons and the rôle incumbent on the United Nations Security Council to ensure that the undertaking is respected. We accordingly propose that the following provision be incorporated in the treaty:

"The States Party to the Treaty agree to establish through the Security Council an appropriate procedure to ensure that the undertaking set forth in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be fulfilled".

(Mr. Ecobesco, Romania)

21. The Romanian delegation once more submits to the attention of the Committee its proposals, not reflected in the revised draft, relating to the convening of periodic conferences and to the contents of the notice of withdrawal from the treaty.
22. To ensure that all provisions of the treaty shall be carried out in both the spirit and the letter, the Romanian delegation considers that the treaty ought to contain appropriate machinery for collective verification enabling the parties to review periodically the stage which the implementation of the treaty has reached, and to compare strictly the aims laid down with the specific achievements recorded. The most appropriate solution, which has been advocated by other delegations, is -- as we have had occasion to state from the very outset of our negotiations -- the convening at regular intervals of periodic conferences in which all States signatories to the treaty would participate.
23. The Romanian delegation proposes the deletion from the draft treaty of the clause relating to the content of the notice of withdrawal from the treaty because, as all know, every State is exclusively competent to decide which events jeopardize its supreme interests, and no other State or international body may open a discussion -- still less take a decision -- on a matter belonging to the State's sovereign right. Any other disposition runs counter to the principles governing relations between States and has no precedent in modern practice relating to international treaties.
24. Before concluding, the Romanian delegation would like to express the conviction that these proposals, together with the other proposals and suggestions put forward by other delegations, will contribute to the preparation of a treaty text which will enjoy wide international accession and will be an effective legal instrument worthy of the support of all peoples.
25. Lastly, I request you, Mr. Chairman, so to act that the document presented by Romania is mentioned in the communiqué of today's meeting. I should also like to express the hope that the Russian version of our document, which has not yet appeared, will be issued as soon as possible.

26. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Since our Committee resumed its work on 18 January an animated discussion has been carried on in the course of which members of the Committee have put forward various wishes and remarks in regard to the draft treaties submitted by the delegations of the Soviet Union and the United States (ENDC/193/Rev.1, ENDC/192/Rev.1). The Soviet side has considered most carefully the statements of members of the Committee, which were prompted mainly by the desire to ensure that the treaty we are discussing would become a reliable barrier against the further spread of nuclear weapons.

27. Among the considerations and wishes in regard to the draft non-proliferation treaty there is a whole number of proposals which have met with support among members of the Committee. In our opinion these proposals have been formulated in a summarized manner in the amendments put forward by the delegation of Sweden on 8 February (ENDC/215). In our statement today we should like to express on behalf of the Soviet side our agreement with these proposals of Sweden and to state that the Soviet side is prepared to include these amendments in the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

28. As is known, the delegation of Sweden proposed that there should be included in the preamble to the draft treaty as its tenth paragraph a special provision recalling the determination expressed by the Parties to the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963 (ENDC/100/Rev.1) to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time. This proposal of Sweden has been supported by many countries members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, in particular by Bulgaria, Canada, Mexico, Poland and other States. Taking into consideration this desire of members of the Committee, the Soviet side is prepared to supplement the preamble to the treaty with the following paragraph:

"Recalling the determination expressed by the Parties to the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 in its preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and to continue negotiations to this end,".

In other words, in this case we agree to reproduce in the text of the non-proliferation treaty the exact wording that appears in the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963, in accordance with what has been proposed in this respect by the delegation of Sweden.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

29. One of the important questions to which the participants in our discussion have devoted great attention during the present session of the Committee has been that of linking the non-proliferation treaty with further negotiations on disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. The delegation of Sweden in our Committee has put forward a proposal which stresses the need to pursue negotiations on effective measures to curb the nuclear arms race at an early date. The relevant amendments of Sweden have been supported by the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, the United Arab Republic and other countries. The Soviet side declares its readiness to accept the proposal of Sweden and to include in the draft treaty the following wording of article VI:

"Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date, and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".

Thus the text which it is proposed to include in the draft non-proliferation treaty corresponds to the text submitted by the delegation of Sweden on 8 February.

30. As we know, article VIII of the draft treaty contains a special provision regarding the holding of a special conference of the parties to the treaty five years after its entry into force in order to review the operation of the treaty. Many States participating in our discussions and other States not present at our conference table have expressed a wish that after the first conference further similar conferences may be held if the parties to the treaty so desire. This idea has also been expressed in one of the amendments put forward by Sweden on 8 February. During the discussion in our Committee this proposal was supported by the delegations of Italy, Mexico, the People's Republic of Poland, the United Arab Republic and other States.

31. As we know, the delegation of the United Kingdom has submitted a proposal (ENDC/203/Rev.1) to the effect that the review conference should discuss not only the question of how the provisions of the treaty are being carried out but also the question of how the purposes of the treaty, as set forth in its preamble, are being realized. This idea, put forward by the delegation of the United Kingdom, has met with support in the Committee.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

32. Taking into consideration the results of the discussion of this question in the course of our negotiations, the Soviet side expresses its agreement to supplement the provisions of paragraph 3 of article VIII in the light of the amendments proposed by the delegations of Sweden and the United Kingdom. The new paragraph 3 of article VIII will read as follows:

"3. Five years after the entry into force of this Treaty, a conference of Parties to the Treaty shall be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in order to review the operation of this Treaty with a view to assuring that the purposes of the Preamble and the provisions of the Treaty are being realized. At intervals of five years thereafter, a majority of the Parties to the Treaty may obtain, by submitting a proposal to this effect to the Depositary Governments, the convening of further conferences with the same objective of reviewing the operation of the Treaty".

33. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that its statement of today on the additions and amendments to the draft treaty, which are based on the proposals of many delegations, will be favourably received by the members of the Committee. These amendments, which have been included in the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, substantially supplement the changes which were made in the draft treaty as a result of the discussion which took place during the previous session of the Committee, and which were based on the proposals of the delegation of Mexico and a number of other delegations which spoke in the Committee on this subject. As a result of the inclusion of additional amendments in the draft non-proliferation treaty, this document, which has been prepared on the basis of careful consideration of the points of view of various States, will be a document based on the positions of a wide range of States.

34. In connexion with the resolution adopted by the twenty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly on the initiative of the non-aligned States (2346A (XXII); ENDC/210), our Committee has to submit its full report to the resumed session of the General Assembly by 15 March - that is, next week. Basing themselves on this resolution, the co-Chairmen have today circulated the draft of the Committee's full report (ENDC/224), which has been drawn up with due regard to the opinions of the delegations in the Committee.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

35. As one of the annexes to the report we are submitting to the Committee a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which is based on the drafts presented by the delegations of the USSR and the United States of America, and which includes additions and amendments put forward in the Committee by many delegations. The report of the Eighteen-Nation Committee to the General Assembly should contribute to the earliest solution of the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and to the conclusion of a treaty on this subject.

36. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): I wish to speak briefly on the draft of a final report to the United Nations General Assembly and on a revised draft of the text of the non-proliferation treaty (ENDC/224). Before discussing the provisions of the report, I should like to comment on the changes incorporated in the new text of the treaty. Because of the short time remaining before 15 March, our suggestion is that the new text of the non-proliferation treaty and the final report be discussed concurrently. In view of the lateness of the hour I wish to limit my statement on the treaty to a discussion of those changes that the co-Chairmen have now incorporated in the texts of 18 January. I intend at subsequent meetings to discuss the various other proposals and suggestions which have not been incorporated in the revised text.

37. The new draft treaty text, which is before the Committee as Annex A of the draft report contains improvements which we believe are responsive to a broad and deeply-felt consensus. Throughout all our discussions in this Committee last year and again this year, there has been at least one theme on which all have been agreed. The non-proliferation treaty should be a step towards achieving further measures of nuclear disarmament and, indeed, a step towards our ultimate goal of general disarmament. Because of this widely and sincerely felt concern, it is natural that attention should have been focused at this session particularly on the articles of the treaty and the paragraphs of the preamble which relate to this question.

38. We appreciated the fact that the amendments of Sweden tabled on 8 February (ENDC/215) were responsive to that broad consensus. We were, moreover, aware that these amendments contain realistic and practical formulations which do not complicate our objective of concluding a non-proliferation treaty as soon as possible. We are therefore pleased to be able to incorporate these ideas in the revised text.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

39. As the Committee will recall, after the Swedish delegation had proposed its revised language for article VI the United Kingdom delegation made a helpful suggestion (ENDC/PV.369, para. 27) for improving the drafting of the Swedish proposal for this article, a suggestion the Swedish delegation found acceptable. Accordingly, article VI of the new draft now reads:

"Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".

Thus, as desired by Sweden, the article now makes clear that we will strive to end the nuclear arms race at an early date and that, specifically, we will also pursue negotiations on effective measures regarding nuclear disarmament.

40. In accordance with the suggestion of Sweden, we have also included a new preambular paragraph which reads:

"Recalling the determination expressed by the Parties to the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 in its preamble to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time and to continue negotiations to this end,".

The only change we have made in the Swedish proposal is the addition of the words "to seek to" before the word "achieve". This was done to bring this paragraph into strict conformity with the paragraph in the limited test-ban Treaty (ENDC/100/Rev.1). This addition, together with the changes that have been made in article VI, will underscore our determination that this treaty should be a stepping-stone to further measures of disarmament.

41. The provisions of article VIII concerning review of the treaty have also been changed in a significant way. A new provision permitting periodic review of the treaty at five-year intervals has been included. That provision reads:

"At intervals of five years thereafter, a majority of the Parties to the Treaty may obtain, by submitting a proposal to this effect to the Depositary Governments, the convening of further conferences with the same objective of reviewing the operation of the Treaty".

(Mr. Foster, United States)

42. The language which I have just read is exactly the amendment proposed by the representative of Sweden. However, we all recall that a suggestion for periodic review was first advanced in this Committee by the representative of Burma (ENDC/PV.337, para. 20). Subsequently, a proposal for periodic review was also advanced by the representative of Romania (ENDC/199, p.3). Most recently Mr. Caracciolo on behalf of the Italian delegation, also submitted a proposal for periodic review (ENDC/218). We are also aware of the importance attached to such a provision by the Government of Japan, among others.

43. In our view, the provision for periodic review serves several worth-while purposes. As many representatives have pointed out, a review conference provides an opportunity for non-nuclear-weapon parties to join with nuclear-weapon Powers in assessing the progress being realized towards one of the treaty's central purposes: that is, contributing to the halting of the nuclear arms race and to effective measures of nuclear disarmament. That is why the new article VIII also includes the amendment of the United Kingdom (ENDC/203/Rev.1) to add the words "of the Preamble" in describing purposes which may be considered at review conferences. That amendment was also suggested by several others and has widespread support. We have included it because it is entirely proper for parties to consider and discuss the purposes of the treaty as stated in the preamble when they are gathered together to see how the treaty is working.

44. A number of representatives have pointed out that the non-proliferation treaty should not be a rigid or inflexible document. The treaty deals with fundamental security interests of the parties, and it is only natural that they should wish to have an opportunity at not-too-distant intervals to discuss the way the treaty is operating. Mr. Caracciolo, the representative of Italy, made a particularly eloquent statement on the need for flexibility (ENDC/PV.367). We believe that the new provision for periodic review should satisfy that widely-felt need.

45. In determining what would be the best way to frame a provision on periodic review, we have become convinced that flexibility should also be appropriately reflected in the procedures for determining the precise time for additional review conferences. A proposal was made by the Italian delegation that periodic review should take place automatically every five years. However, we have felt it would be preferable to adopt the approach of permitting review to take place at five-year intervals whenever a majority of the parties so desires.



(Mr. Foster, United States)

46. Although we have agreed to ensure that the first review conference will definitely take place five years after the treaty's entry into force, we did not think it would be desirable to limit ourselves inflexibly to a review conference at precise five-yearly intervals after the treaty's entry into force. It might well be that the parties, after the first review conference, would not feel a genuine need for review precisely five years later. They might wish instead to hold open the possibility of a conference six, seven or even eight years later. Finally, the provision that we have included would also enable us to adjust the exact date for a conference in accordance with international circumstances at that time. In any event, conferences can be held at five-yearly intervals if the majority so desires.

47. We believe that the revised treaty text meets the concerns of many as expressed here and therefore reflects a wide area of consensus. The serious discussion in this Committee has, we believe, enabled us to produce a treaty text which will be acceptable to the international community and will be effective in halting the threat of nuclear proliferation. It is a fitting climax to the long and arduous negotiations in this Committee in which all delegations have played an important part.

48. Before concluding, I should like to say a few brief words about the draft final report. As the members of the Committee know, a draft text was informally discussed with all of them prior to the circulation of the present draft. We appreciated the opportunity for consultation at that stage of our work, and the present text does reflect the results of those consultations. The changes which have been made from the first draft will be apparent to members.

49. However, I might add with regard to annex E that it is our understanding that each delegation will decide for itself whether it wishes to be listed. We suggest that any delegation which does wish to be listed should promptly inform Mr. Protitch as to which of its statements appearing in the verbatim records and which of its documents it wishes to have cited in that annex.

50. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to stress that the draft represents our best effort to recommend a report which is factual and responsive to General Assembly resolution 2346A (XXII) (ENDC/210) and which takes into account varying interests within the Committee. Therefore we earnestly hope that this draft may permit us to send to the United Nations promptly the full report which the General Assembly has asked us to submit.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 376th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador K. Christov, representative of Bulgaria.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Romania, the USSR and the United States.

"The delegation of Romania tabled amendments to the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/223/Rev.1).

"The co-Chairmen of the USSR and the United States of America submitted a draft of the report to the United Nations General Assembly, which contains at Annex A a revised draft text of the non-proliferation treaty, at Annex B a draft resolution of the Security Council on security assurances, at Annex C documents of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament for the period 18 January to the adjournment date of this session, at Annex D documents of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament for the period 21 February - 14 December 1967, and at Annex E a listing of documents and verbatim records setting forth views of various members (ENDC/224).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 12 March 1968, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.